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457 time playing with dolls, and in make-believe cooking, and visiting, activities they will be carrying out when older.

During all the time of our stay in La Guajira, we saw no games specially designed for girls beyond those just stated, but it should be noted that when they are together with other girls of their own age they are quite happy [26] to carry out the household duties with which they are charged, such as bringing water from the well, looking for firewood, etc., as they take advantage of the opportunity to climb trees to look for fruit or simply to swing in the branches, activities which their mothers complain about because they tear their clothes, for which they are punished.

The only mixed activity we had occasion to observe between boys and girls of six to twelve years was the game of sweethearts; they made jokes and played at being annoyed or unwilling and imitated all the attitudes of a couple in love. [27]

II

THE CHILD IN THE MIDDLE YEARS

Punishment. Encouragement. Childish Reaction to Punishment. Training.

821 The Guajiro Indians expect their children to comply with the established norms of conduct, and if they break these rules they are punished in different ways. This reaction is not systematic, as breaking a rule does not mean that punishment will necessarily follow. When it produces no harmful effect, a lapse may be passed over, but if it should cause serious harm the child is punished in consequence. In the question of punishment it would appear that the parents follow the principle of accumulation, that is to say, to put up patiently with a series of misdeeds on the part of the children and at a certain moment to take advantage of an opportunity, at times insignificant, to show their authority and establish the precedent that their orders and wishes are to be

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361 respected. This sudden reaction may be due to personal feelings of the parents; for example, when the mother is repressing some disappointment she will often relieve her feelings by punishing her child, somewhat unjustly, for some fault or faults previously committed. However, it may be that naughtiness is immediately followed by punishment.

Furthermore, the parents being confronted with a repetition of an act previously punished, persistently remind the child of what he suffered before and the possibility of again feeling more severe punishment because of his repeated disobedience, or they simply show him the objects used to press him with a view to compelling him to submit to the paternal will.

The most common causes for punishment are the following:

862 1. Acts against normal feeding habits, such as stealing food,
693 frequently practiced by children for various reasons: a) because he is the last to receive his helping at mealtime; b) because adults ostensibly get preference when any special dish is being served; c) because in times of scarcity it is the elders who avail themselves of the short rations, which provokes a feeling of inferiority in the child that his hunger helps to emphasize and forces him to steal to remedy the situation. This theft may be /28/ of several kinds: Stealing of food which is immediately eaten, since it is cooked or does not require cooking, such as chicha, milk, cheese, panela, sweets, fruit, or a special dish that the mother is keeping in expectation of a visitor or is meant for her husband or an invalid. To steal this food that the mother hangs from the ceiling or puts in some hiding place means that the child must take advantage of some carelessness on the part of the mother to carry out his act.

Another kind is the theft of food that is not to be eaten immediately but that is taken to be hidden and eaten later when he needs it -- while away from home pasturing the animals or when going off surreptitiously to hunt.

Another form of food stealing is that done by the eldest brother or the one with a sweeter tooth than the others. On being handed

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835 the girls go into the woods to round up the burros or for other chores. We know that if the mother learns of these happenings she immediately hands out punishment; we also know that it is considered very bad because of its prematurity, because of the act in itself, and because of reasons of blood relationship; but we do not know in what way punishment is meted out or the reaction and the social and family attitude when it becomes known. The fact is that the mother with girls of that age prevents their meeting their brothers outside her personal vigilance. The disregard of that prohibition even if it is not presumed that such a delinquent act has taken place leads to punishment, because the mother knows that these prepubertal relations will later have a decisive influence on the girl when she seeks marriage, as the future husband expects her to come virgin to him and the payment he makes for her includes such a concept. If she is not he has the right to claim a compensation payment and to obtain the legal refund of part of the animals he has paid; or they are obliged to admit it before the marriage, with the prospect that they will be denounced or the hoped-for /marriage/ purchase will not go through. In any case, with foreknowledge or without, the loss of her virginity reduces the value of a marriageable woman in the eyes of the men seeking her as wife.

861 There are punishments of various kinds. Some are corporal and consist of striking the child, and these are the most frequent. They slap them on the mouth when they are insolent when given an order or when they give a sharp answer to the father or mother. They are punched and kicked or are whipped with lassos or riding whips, with twigs from the woods or cudgels, but the mother generally beats them with a bunch of nettles when they commit any kind of naughtiness, such as throwing themselves on the floor and rolling around from tempes, sneaking out of the house without permission, disobeying an order, etc. /33/ In order to punish them the mother tries to take them by surprise and catch them firmly by the arm or hand so that she may punish them before they can escape her. She beats their legs or shoulders with the nettles as these parts are usually bare. This punishment is very painful

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but does not produce bad aftereffects as blows with sticks do, and it makes the child take warning and promise not to repeat his disobedience; before a relapse, it is sufficient to mention the punishment for him to comply with the order given him.

Another quite common form of punishment is to take the child and put him into a mesh bag of agave fiber, sling it on one of the high branches of an enramada /bough-covered shelter/ and rotate it until the child is nauseated and vomits, becoming unconscious. He is then lowered and left on the ground until he recovers. The mere threat of repeating this punishment or just showing him the bag is sufficient for him to do as he is told. These punishments are generally inflicted for disobedience.

Stealing food may also be punished in a like manner. This disobedience may also be corrected by the child's losing his ration of food, which is considered the hardest punishment of all and which the child willingly exchanges for the worst of beatings. This kind of punishment is considered unjust by the society, but it is nevertheless employed, especially when the child has pettishly or in a temper thrown away his food, to remind him, moreover, that he had wasted it before.

When children up to five years of age are very gluttonous, the mother will serve them a very large helping of food and oblige them to eat all of it until they vomit. She believes that in this way she will cure what she considers a defect. Beatings are the usual way of checking gluttony, stealing food from the mother or younger brothers, wasting or damaging it, not wishing to share it with a brother or with a friend. When the child refuses to eat and spurns his food with disgust after having been punished or reprehended, his mother pretends not to see and lets the child have his way, or she takes it away, leaving him without food.

There are punishments of a different order from the preceding, based on the recalling of a punishment previously suffered, when they repeat to the culprit what he said on being punished, his sobs and promises, trying to mimic each one of the details humiliating for the little one, to shame him, or showing him

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861 what was used for his punishment, such as the nettles or the bag. Terrified by these, he will obey the commands of his elders.

On giving an order or forbidding a child to do something, they may threaten him various times beforehand in order to ensure obedience. /34/

[762] When the boy or girl is approaching puberty or has passed it, the verbal reprimand or scolding is the more common. This nagging disapproval may be repeated to a point where the boy or girl in desperation will leave home or even commit suicide. Another way to enforce obedience from a young child or to get him to sleep is to frighten him, when he is very small, telling him that the cocón (1) will take him or that some old drunk will

1. Degeneration of the word coco, used in Colombia to frighten children in expressions such as: "The coco will take you" and "There comes the coco," etc.

carry him off. The small child is frightened and obeys, but when he is older he loses his fears and the threats are no longer of any use.

[602] The mother, the aunts, and the grandmothers take the principal part in applying punishments; also the maternal uncles.

[689] The father's part is limited in this respect as his children are not considered to belong to his clan (cf. kinship) so that should he go too far and draw blood from the boy or should the boy kill himself or become ill through his fault, the mother would claim compensation payment from her husband. Nevertheless, this is reciprocal, for if the son commits suicide because of the punishment inflicted by the mother, it is the father who then presents the corresponding claim for compensation payment.

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861 The reactions of the child to the punishment he receives for the different offenses considered punishable are diverse. Thus we see that during his early years, on being beaten he will scream, cry, and try to run away or endeavor to show his resentment by becoming enraged and throwing himself on the floor, where he rolls furiously, an attitude he will also assume if he cannot get his own way. On again being beaten with nettles for this act, he takes warning and only at long intervals will he have a relapse, because he is threatened by a repetition of the punishment.

861 When he is able to walk and run perfectly well, the child
858 attempts to escape punishment whenever possible by running away when he sees his mother or the person who means to punish him, or he endeavors to keep away from home in the hope that their annoyance will pass. When the beatings are very severe or very frequent or he considers them unjust, it is common for the boy to run away, going as far away as possible, in search of an uncle or relative who will offer him protection. The flight from home is more usual among boys than among girls and is more liable to occur toward the prepubertal age, because the youth feels restricted by family demands and /35/ aspires to get free of them. At this age corporal punishment and deprivation of food are punishments much less used, but criticism and verbal reproaches are the most used, and the young people react violently against these. In the cases where the scolding comes from the father, which is rare, the mother tries to pacify the boy, pointing out that he should not give such importance to the matter. But when it is she herself who reprehends him, the furious boy leaves home or stays in the house sulking and not speaking to anyone, showing his resentment and refusing to eat. When he leaves home, the mother allows a certain time to pass, during which she makes inquiries as to his whereabouts and what he has said. Then she asks an uncle, a brother, or his favorite friend to speak to him and persuade him to return. When he comes back she makes no allusion to the matter, and home life then goes on as usual.

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861 Another very usual reaction is that of learning each day to
dissemble and show astuteness in avoiding punishment. When he
sees the attention of his mother or his elders is distracted, he
will do what has been forbidden: go to visit at a neighboring
house, steal food, climb trees, etc. Later he will lie barefacedly
to avoid the possible punishment.

861 When a boy is very frequently punished, which does happen
593 in some homes where the mother is continually beating the chil-
dren, the child becomes sullen and withdrawn; he stays away
from home, passing most of his time out and about or in the
neighbors' houses, endeavoring to avoid the presence of his
parents. We have heard of a mother who asked her eldest son,
who was in Venezuela, for money as she needed it urgently.
His answer was: "I have no mother. She was a tyrant to me and
to my brothers, and I plan to bring them here with me so she
will not be able to beat them for nothing. I will send her no
money as she was always so wicked and cruel she does not deserve
it." When the mother learned of this reply, her reaction was to

[762] cruelly beat all her younger children as a warning to them not to
do what their elder brother had done. The husband reprehended
her for her cruelty, and she ended by hanging herself. There are
several similar cases which show the later resentment of some
sons against their parents for the harshness of their treatment
during their childhood. A boy can bear a permanent grudge,
and as soon as he feels strong enough to oppose his will to that of
his mother or his elders in general, he becomes stubborn and
stands up to them. On occasion, if opposed in his deepest feel-
ings and blind with fury because of some punishment inflicted,

[762] he will hang himself, by which deed the consequences of his
[689] death fall on the originator of the punishment, as the other parent
will put in a claim for compensation payment, alleging that
the boy was so exasperated it drove him to /36/ to take his own
life. This law of obligatory payment tends to limit the appli-
cation as well as the violence of the punishment, although, in
spite of it children are cruelly treated in many homes.

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884 Toward the prepubertal age the boy begins to show his reaction to family punishments and controls, a liberating phase which culminates after puberty with the handing over of his animals when he marries, or before if his pastoral ability allows his taking full charge of them. Then, with his economic independence assured, he is freed from the discipline of the small family. He wants to figure as an adult and take an active part in the life of the community. For the male there is a difficulty as regards the coming of age because they have no initiation rite so that the time of his independence is subject to his economic circumstances and is in consequence elastic. On the other hand, in the case of women the biological phenomenon of menstruation marks the end of their childhood and their transformation to womanhood with all its privileges, rights, and duties.

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861 The mother and the persons charged with the care and training of the child not only make use of punishment to obtain his obedience and submission to traditional norms of conduct but also have recourse to other kinds of stimuli which we might call positive. For example, when the boy tends to cry overmuch and is cowardly when faced by some slight problem, he is told: "Don't cry so much. Are you a girl that you go about crying so much? We should send you to take part in a wake /veloriar/ (1)."

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1. Veloriar is used to indicate attendance and participation in the wake for a dead person, during which those present weep mournfully over the corpse.

If the crying is caused by an injury which the mother had foreseen, she says to him: "I told you so; you alone are to blame; no one did you any harm so you need not cry as it is all

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861 your fault; and as you would not listen to me, you can suffer the consequences." Or she consoles him by saying: "Don't cry, it doesn't really hurt; It is not worth crying about. Be a man." If the one hurt is a girl, the mother soothes her saying: "Why are you crying when you are braver than any man? You always behave with more pluck than they do."

Another way to get them to respect an order is to have recourse to stimulation by comparison. "Your brother -- or so-and-so -- obeys /37/ his mother promptly and helps her without being told what to do." Or she tells him, to encourage his efforts: "Why won't you be able to do such a thing if X... who is smaller than you already can do it?"

Obedience and submission are also achieved with presents. When the parents go to a village, they bring back for the son something he has wanted. They will also promise him some gift, trying to satisfy his taste or the particular liking of the child. "I will give you such-and-such a sweet cake"; "I will give you this"; "I will let you go to that place"; "I will let you play with your friend if you will do what I ask promptly and well."

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769 The cult of the dead is fundamental in the social life of the
867 Guajiro, and the child is instructed in it. This cult represents, moreover, another bond of union among the living, by its reminder of a tie of common blood, which relates to a third person to whom mutual relationship is recognized; moreover, it makes common cause with the incidents of his life and death, evoking a strong sense of solidarity.

The cult of the dead expressly implies a series of obligations in which the child is instructed and compliance with which is directly associated with the maintenance of the status of the dead person's family group, obligations which this training tends to render unavoidable.

Probably the cornerstone of this instruction is the daily calling to mind of dead relatives, for at three o'clock in the morning,

854 also encourages it to crawl and walk. Indian babies can sit without help, when a white baby is still unable to raise itself. At six months the brown Indian baby is already a toddler.

868 The conversation turned on to the upbringing of children. Even in its earliest games the Indian babe imitates its parents' occupations, thus amusing itself and learning at the same time. The Indians are very careful to see that from the beginning the children learn to distinguish between the men's and women's spheres of work. An Indian father would be very indignant if he saw his baby son playing at cooking, which is not male work. Therefore the son accompanies his father to the herds even as quite an infant, while his sister will stay at home.

861 We had already noticed that children were sometimes chastized, which is not usual among other primitive Indians. The old women saw that they behaved themselves and were not disobedient. Food was rationed both for the children and the grown-ups, and it was considered very shabby to pinch another's helping. To drop anything edible on to the ground was strictly punished, and the worst offence of all was for a child in anger to throw food on to the ground and trample it. Possibly this was yet another relic of Moorish custom, for in Morocco it is considered a serious crime to spill crumbs of bread. When the children became bigger they were merely scolded, but they were then generally no longer under their parents' supervision, but with relations with whom they spend long periods. The first-born son usually grows up with his eldest maternal uncle, who is the boy's real guardian, and he teaches him cattle-rearing and agriculture and the queer laws of his people.

231 857 Girls also go to their mother's relations and help in the household. We had already seen how a Guajiro boy had to work. He had to be at it from the moment he stepped out of his hammock at three in the morning. First he and some others gathered the cattle to water them. If they were watered at a deep casimba, he had to run up and down with water-jars to fill the troughs of hollowed-out trunks. He